585 accompanied by her women relatives mounted on asses, leaves,
591 followed by the men on camel back, for her new home. There she
[592] is received by the chief and the old women.

While the married couple take refuge in their tent, the company carouses and dances. The festivities begin at sunset and do not end until dawn the next day, when all those present are exhausted.

593 The young women is then a member of her new family, which
[594] she will leave only in case of divorce or the death of her husband. In the meantime, she does not have the right to go visit her parents, but they may come to her camp.

592 Tuareg women keep a great deal of independence in marriage.
593 It is hard to tell whether they are faithful wives or whether they take advantage of their husbands' often prolonged absences to mis-
887 behave. According to some (Duveyrier) their conduct is exemplary; according to others (de Foucauld, Vermale) they leave much to be desired, and the wives continue to practice the light mores learned at the ahal. "Their unique preoccupation," says Dr. Vermale, "is love; having lovers is their only aim." It is certain that former lovers from the lovers' meetings continue to come visit the married women and to praise their charms in the ahal. But it must be explained that the husbands do not show jealousy, which would be in the worst taste, and that this courting seems quite Platonic. It is very difficult to ask questions on this subject, for the Tuareg are careful of their wives' reputations and maintain that they are above reproach.

As for the men, their conduct is proper in their camps, although some do not hesitate to make use of their women slaves. But when they go on caravans and arrive in the centers far from their country, they give free rein to their passion which a long abstinence has made more impetuous.

● 684 Adultery (aker) of women is often punished by death. The man does justice himself without anyone thinking to reproach him, killing the guilty parties by his own hand.

591 husband are of different clans. A Tuareg camp is usually known, however, by the name of the highest ranking male member of the camp community. Children are normally brought up and continue to live among the group which their parents finally joined on a permanent basis, although boys are sometimes brought up by a maternal uncle. A widowed woman and her unmarried children are usually taken into the family circle of one of her brothers or married sons.

837 The question of moral laxity hardly con-
[835] cerns us here, for even if irregular sexual relations were as general among the ladies of the Ahaggar as some authors would have us believe, they are still confined as a rule to the kinship group of the clan or at least to that of the tribe. But even so we will do well to examine briefly a widespread popular misconception. In point of fact we can probably
[582] accept Blanguernon's (1955, p. 141) statement that a substantial majority of Tuareg ladies remain virgin until wed, even though the usual age at marriage is 20 to 25 for women and close to 30 for men. Monogamy is the uni-
586 versal rule and divorce is both unusual and
837 generally frowned on. Adultery is probably no more common than it is in most societies where husbands and wives are frequently separated for periods varying from a couple of days to several months. An injured husband
● [684] theoretically has the right to kill both his wife and her lover if they are caught in the act, but in practice he usually repudiates his wife although he may decide to keep her regardless of her faults, in which case he appeals to the Amenokal who then fines the corespondent. The injured wife of an unfaithful husband simply packs up and goes back to her own people, unless she prefers to ignore the whole affair.

837 It has been said that Tuareg women of the Ahaggar, single or married, lend themselves freely to male friends and guests as a general rule, but this is certainly a myth. We get the impression that in this matter, and in others too, some authors have not only been influenced subconsciously by the conditioning of their own societies, but have also extrapolated hypothetical Tuareg behavior from behavior sometimes observed among the Tuareg when in contact with their new European rulers.

occurs quite often, but most generally on the initiative of the wife, for the husband who gives notice of repudiation is bound to pay her the remainder due on the bride price, while when it is the wife who initiates the break by refusing herself to him and taking refuge with her parents, her husband owes her nothing. 586

Sidi ag Keradji, the amenokal of the Taïtoq and Kel Ahnet, could never keep a wife with him. He divorced very often. Each time he went back to his negresses, whom he held in high regard. Meanwhile, he tried to remarry (he was seventy to seventy-five years old), but it seems he had some difficulty, considering his matrimonial past. /19/ [581 587]

Chapter IX

Adultery

Adultery, in Tamashek "tikra" ⵜⴰⴽⵔⴰ (from the verb "ouker" ⵓⴽⵔ , to steal), is certainly common. 837 684

The Tuareg may say that in a case of adultery they do not hesitate to kill the woman, but I asked them to cite me such a case which had occurred within the past several years, and they admitted that they could not cite any, adding that this was just because no act in flagrante delicto had ever been established. Others told me that many are satisfied to get divorced and that some even say no more about it. [586]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

Nowadays the price is determined by the Amenokal. When a tenant dies his rights and obligations should ideally be taken over by a maternal kinsmen. Traditionally the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved for people of the same matrilineage or section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole clan they belong to all clan members. These traditional rules, however, do not seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote is wrong in stating that the chief of the clan has the right to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole clan territory (Lhote 1955, p. 279). In the two clans here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

As the supreme judge of his drum-group the Amenokal can claim various indemnities *(ediet)* among which have just been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants. In case of adultery, for instance, the Amenokal can claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her as well as the seducer on the spot, and formerly the families of persons thus killed had no right to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder within the clan, but the Amenokal might then claim an indemnity from the murderer. When the murderer and the person killed were from different clans, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the kinsmen of the murderer. The Amenokal could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were ever paid. Revenge and blood-wealth have been abolished by the French administration which has given the Amenokal more power over his subjects than he had in the past. To-day the authority of the Amenokal is almost unlimited. If, for instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the Amenokal and ask him whether he considers the marriage suitable, and if the Amenokal agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different clans continues to live together with people of his father's clan after his father's death, the chief of his mother's clan may complain to the Amenokal, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the Amenokal can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice.

In the past the Tuareg of the Kel Rela drum-group are said frequently to have shown disobedient to the Amenokal. But the vassals would generally support him when he organized raids against other Tuareg as the war-leader of the Kel Rela group. The Amenokal had the right to a tribute named *abellag* comprising half of all booty taken by vassals of his drum-group. The vassals were allowed to engage in raiding without his consent, but he was the one who decided on war and large-scale raiding.

837 /146 cont./ the husband deceives his wife, and if this happens it is far from her when, departed for the Sudan, he remains absent a long time. The Tuareg woman is faithful; those who take a lover are rare. If a husband knew his wife to be unfaithful, simply by hearsay, he could repudiate her, but in the case of flagrante delicto he could kill the guilty pair, or he [684] could bring the case to the attention of the amenokal, who would impose a fine. The deceived wife may leave her husband; in this case she returns to her family, taking her [586] belongings with her. Divorces are rather rare and very ill thought of.

761 Death is not regarded with terror, a whole framework of beliefs strongly colored with Islamism promise the Targui 775 future recompense in the other world. It /147/ seems that charity will be particularly rewarded and selfishness severely punished; the punishments described would be similar to the offense. Extensive investigations would be necessary to sift out all the beliefs concerning death; to distinguish between what is Moslem and what is properly Tuareg would prove to be very difficult.

764 When a death occurs in the tent, each member of the family maintains an attitude of what appears to be very great dignity to our Western eyes. Certainly, it happens that some people cry over the deceased, which is human, but custom would have the tears held back; a man, particularly, would know how to control himself sufficiently not to show his grief.

The body does not remain in the tent long; the women wash it if it is that of a woman; the men wash it in the other case. It is perfumed; its members are laid out in an attitude of rest; then it is wrapped in a shroud (tifit), which is sewed up. During these operations, the tomb has been dug following the Moslem custom. Only men escort the corpse to the grave. After having buried it in the tomb and covered it with earth, they put up stones to mark the place, and each man returns to his tent. There is neither song nor prayer.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

233 583 601 that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for brothers and sisters-in-law.

233 436 593 431 584 684 643 683 The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer, while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However, these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukal*. For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same payment is made for the cutting off of a hand or a foot, the cutting of a finger or a toe being fixed at a price of five camels. In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours as follows:—

233 436 682

Age		*Colour*	
10	*ilgad*, or *chét awétay* (one year old)	10	*tibeydegin* (white)
10	*tilusin* (2 years old)	10	*titlarin* (mahogany)
10	*tekkenifadden* (3 years old)	10	*tizeggerin* (reddish)
10	*tiruyar* (4 years old)	10	*tibhawin* (reddish brown)
10	*chét essin* (5 years old)	10	*tilemlarin* (grey)
10	*chét okkaz* (6 years old)	10	*tizerifin* (metallic grey)
10	*timessedas* (7 years old)	10	*timengelin* (dark grey)
10	*chét tahalt* (8 years old)	10	*tikewelin* (black)
20	*tirezgamin* (more than eight years old; she-camels considered neither young nor old)	10	*tizerrafin* (piebald)
		10	*tiwinarin* (white cornea)

233 822 * 492 643 The actual value of a camel is never judged from its colour, but colours have a certain æsthetic value, and wealthy Tuareg who keep several riding camels will always have animals of different colours. This is the case with the present *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, who is said to possess between ten and twenty camels trained for riding.

233 857 565 524 237 324 868 81 Camels play a great part in the life of the individual. Boys of the vassal class may be set to herd goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b–d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-camels", and their "caravans". Boys learn to travel on camel-back at a very early age. When three or four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

[text continues on p. 104]

643 and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kgs of butter annually to the *Amenukal* who rewards the man
651 bringing this payment with a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. As to the *Kel Arefsa* sub-tribe its collective
614 payments are the same as those made by the *Isandan*. (2) The *Dag Rali* tribe pays *tiwsé* as follows:—
613 12 bags of millet (i.e., 3 bags from each of the four tribal sections) corresponding to 6 camel-loads,
565 are given to the chief of the *Dag Rali*. He sends 10 bags to the *Amenukal*, and keeps two for himself. In case of good grazing the whole tribe gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the *Amenukal*. – All vassal tribes of the *Kel Rela* drum group make such annual payments to the *Amenukal*, and this also applies to the *Isekkemaren* tribes. These payments, known as *tiwsé*, are in fact tokens of vassalage,
634 and are never made by noble Tuareg. The payments should properly belong to the *Amenukal* as drum-chief of the *Kel Rela*, while vassal tribes of other drum-groups should make their payments to their particular drum-chiefs.

643 The *Amenukal* had other rights over his subjects. He had the right to summon the vassals of his
634 drum-group to war and large-scale raiding, and he had the right to half of all war booty taken by his
565 vassals. This right was known as *abellag*, and the vassals of other drum-groups paid similar dues to their particular drum-chiefs. Furthermore, we have seen that the *Amenukal* as the leader of the *Kel Rela* drum-group could inherit livestock from such deceased subjects as had no living patrilineal
614 kinsmen, though he would make no use of livestock thus inherited. The animals would remain in the tribe to which the deseased person belonged under the supervision of the tribal chief (cf. p. 138). As a drum-chief the *Amenukal* also had the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief
614 within his drum-group. This is also the case nowadays, but it should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal tribe, the *Dag Rali*, has the right to one of the *Amenukal*'s riding camels on the latter's death.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the *Amenukal* could claim various indemnities (*eddiyet*)
634 among which have been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants (p. 151).
681 Even to-day the *Amenukal* can claim these and many other indemnities. In case of adultery, for instance,
684 he can claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her and the seducer on the spot, and formerly
682 the families of persons thus killed had no right to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth
614 paid in case of murder within the tribe, but the *Amenukal* might then claim an indemnity from the murderer. When the murderer and the person killed came from different tribes, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the murderer's kinsmen. The *Amenukal* could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were ever paid.
683 For bodily harm of various kinds there were other indemnities to be paid in camels (cf. p. 102), and
178 such indemnities are perhaps made even nowadays, but blood-wealth and revenge have been abolished
648 by the French, who have in many ways given the *Amenukal* more power over his subjects than he had in the past.

178 To-day the authority of the *Amenukal* is almost unlimited. If, for instance, a man will not allow
643 his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the *Amenukal* and ask him whether he